

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-05 NSC-05  
NSCE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 PM-03 H-01 SSO-00 /037 W  
-----085687 161044Z /13

R 160727Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4291  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING

S E C R E T TAIPEI 4286

LIMDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY, HABIB, HOLBROOKE AND GLEYSTEN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, TW, US  
SUBJECT: NORMALIZATION AND TAIWAN

1. I PRESUME THAT OUR CENTRAL OBJECTIVE WITH RESPECT TO  
TAIWAN IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD IS TO ASSURE THAT IT  
PASSES THROUGH THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS IN SUCH FASHION  
THAT IMPORTANT U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN THIS COUNTRY  
AND THIS REGION ARE NOT JEOPARDIZED. WE WANT TO AVOID PRE-  
CIPITATING SEVERE AND DESTABILIZING REACTIONS ON TAIWAN WHICH  
WOULD STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF EXTREMISTS HERE WHO WOULD BE  
INCLINED TO PROMOTE ACTIONS DAMAGING TO U.S. INTERESTS.  
SUCH ACTIONS COULD INCLUDE A BID FOR ESTABLISHING AN INDE-  
PENDENT TAIWAN STATE, MAKING OVERTURES FOR COOPERATION WITH  
THE SOVIET UNION, AND SEEKING TO PRODUCE OR ACQUIRE NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH ACTIONS ON THE PRC, ON  
OUR EAST ASIAN FRIENDS, AND ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC NEED NO  
ELABORATION. DAMAGING EFFECTS ON U.S. BUSINESS AND OTHER  
INTERESTS HERE ON TAIWAN WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE ANTICIPATED  
IF SUCH EXTREMISTS WERE IN A POSITION TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE

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OF EVENTS.

2. IT IS MY JUDGMENT THAT MOST OR ALL OF THE PRESENT GROU-  
P LEADERSHIP, AND PREMIER CHIANG IN PARTICULAR, WILL NOT OPPOSE  
OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES FOR TAIWAN FOR SOME YEARS AHEAD ONCE  
THEY ARE SURE THAT WE HAVE TAKEN AN IRREVERSIBLE DECISION  
TO PROCEED WITH NORMALIZATION AND TO END US-ROC DIPLOMATIC

RELATIONS AND ABROGATE THE MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. BY THIS I MEAN THAT THEY WILL ALSO WANT TAIWAN TO PASS THROUGH THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS WITH ITS PRESENT ORIENTATION AND INSTITUTIONS GENERALLY INTACT AND THEY WILL WISH TO AVOID THE KINDS OF EXTREME ACTIONS MENTIONED ABOVE. HOWEVER BITTER THE NORMALIZATION PILL THEY WILL STILL WISH TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH US AND IN WAYS WHICH ALSO SERVE OUR INTERESTS, TO THE EXTENT THAT WE ARE WILLING TO COOPERATE.

3. I AM ALSO CONFIDENT THAT PREMIER CHIANG WILL BE ABLE TO RETAIN HIS LEADERSHIP ROLE AS LONG AS THE NORMALIZATION ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN TAIWAN AND THE U.S. MEET CERTAIN MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS. THESE REQUIREMENTS INCLUDE CONDITIONS TO FOSTER THE CONTINUING SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING OF THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING ITS IMPORTANT LINKS WITH THE U.S.; THE MAINTENANCE OF A CREDIBLE MILITARY AND POLITICAL DETERRENT AGAINST ATTACK BY THE PRC; AND EFFECTIVE MEANS OF NON-DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TAIWAN AND THE U.S..

4. A FURTHER CONDITION FOR PREMIER CHIANG'S CONTINUING SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP IS HIS ABILITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HE IS IN EFFECTIVE TOUCH WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THAT HE IS IN THE BEST POSITION TO LEAD TAIWAN THROUGH THE AGONIES OF NORMALIZATION AND WORK OUT THE BEST ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FUTURE MORE LIMITED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS REQUIRES THAT PREMIER CHIANG HAVE SUFFICIENT ADVANCE KNOW-  
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LEDGE OF CRITICAL U.S. STEPS IN THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS SO THAT HE CAN PREPARE HIS OWN LEADERSHIP ADEQUATELY AND REMAIN MASTER OF EVENTS ON TAIWAN. WE ARE NOW APPROACHING WHAT MAY BE A CRITICAL EVENT, NAMELY THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO PEKING. IT WOULD BE WISE FOR US TO PREPARE PREMIER CHIANG SUFFICIENTLY PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO ENABLE HIM TO PREPARE HIS OWN PEOPLE, AT LEAST HIS OWN CLOSE ASSOCIATES, FOR WHAT IS TO COME AND TO DEVELOP A CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE FOR TAIWAN TO ACCOMMODATE TO EVENTS. WHATEVER POSTURE WE, THE U.S., FEEL OBLIGED TO TAKE PUBLICLY, SUCH AS SEEMING OCCASIONALLY TO IGNORE EVEN THE EXISTENCE OF THIS COUNTRY, WE SHOULD WORK QUIETLY WITH THE MODERATE LEADERSHIP HERE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR HAND AGAINST THE EXTREMISTS WHO WILL TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DISCOURAGEMENT, CONFUSION AND EVEN PANIC THAT NORMALIZATION AND ITS PRELIMINARIES COULD GENERATE. WE MUST AVOID FEEDING THE SUSPICIONS THAT ARE BEGINNING TO DEVELOP HERE THAT WE MEAN TO TURN OUR BACK ON TAIWAN TOTALLY AND WILL NOT MAKE THE INDISPENSABLE EFFORTS TO DEVELOP ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL GIVE IT A REASONABLE CHANCE FOR STABILITY IN THE POST-NORMALIZATION LIMBO. IF SUCH SUSPICIONS TAKE SOLID HOLD, THE HAND OF THE PREMIER WILL INCREASINGLY BE WEAKENED AND HE WILL SEEM TO HAVE NOTHING

TO OFFER; IRRATIONAL AND EXTREME REACTIONS MAY ENSUE.

5. THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO HELP CCK PRESERVE A POSITION WHICH I THINK IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO US, I STRONGLY URGE THAT PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO PEKING I BE AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS WITH THE PREMIER SOMETHING OF OUR THINKING AND ALSO PUT HIM IN A POSITION TO SAY SOMETHING TO HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES TO STRENGTHEN HIS HAND WITH THEM. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT WE COMMUNICATE WITH HIM FOLLOWING THE VISIT WITH THE SAME CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND.

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